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ABSTRACT

This teacher's guide is designed to accompany the two-part videotape "To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment." The videotape and teacher's guide should help students to: (1) understand the history of the Second Amendment; (2) examine how guns and gun control laws affect people's lives; (3) compare and contrast the many perspectives and viewpoints Americans have on the Bill of Rights, gun control, and crime in the United States; and (4) develop informed opinions about the issue and discuss the future of gun control. The guide contains four activities that involve class discussions and small-group work. Student handouts are provided. The active learning approach encourages students to go beyond recognition or knowledge of facts to begin analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating the issues and concepts being studied. (LH)

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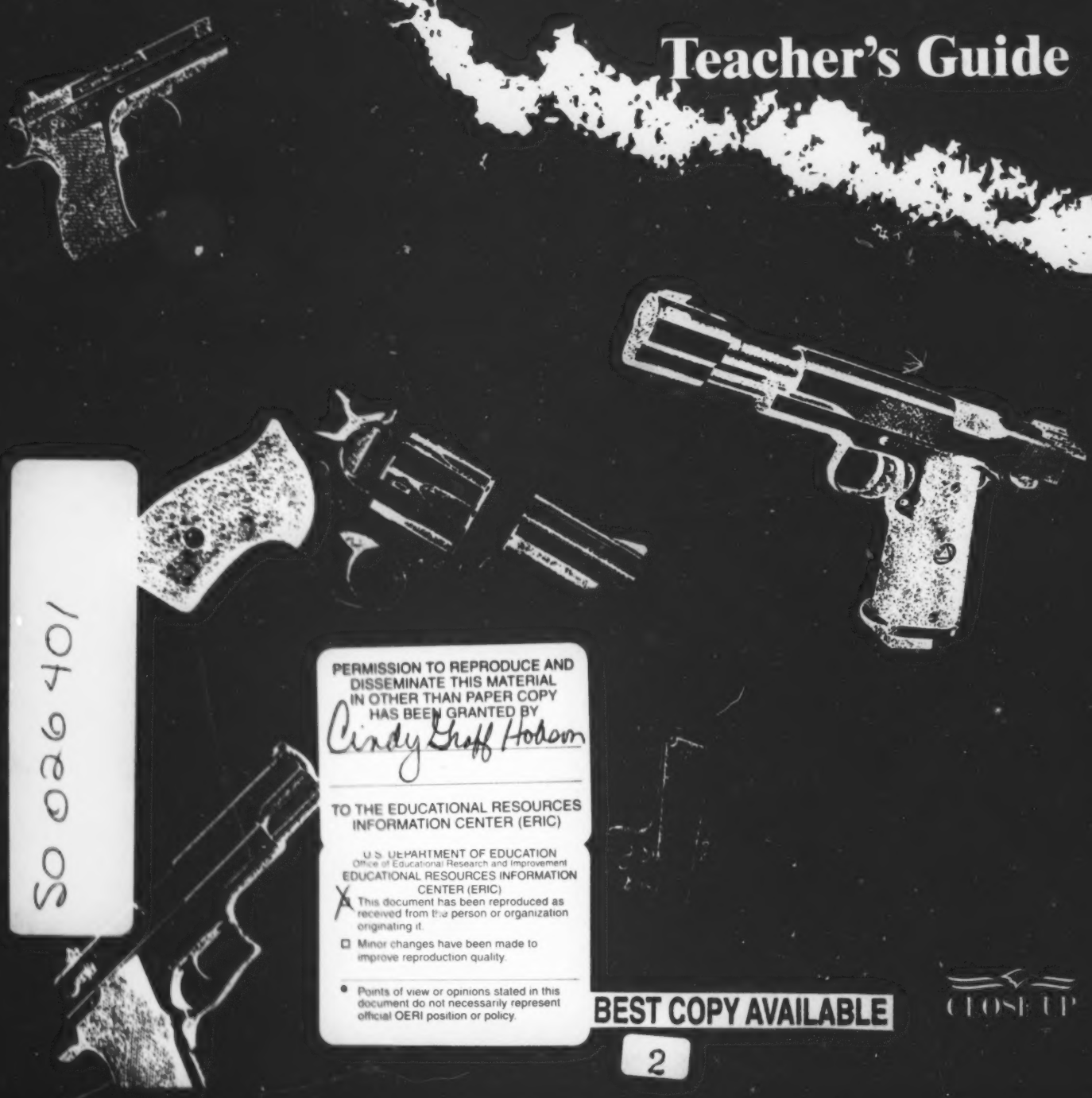
To Keep and Bear Arms

Gun Control and the Second Amendment

Teacher's Guide



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CLOSE UP

TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

Gun Control and the Second Amendment

TEACHER'S GUIDE

Developed by

Amy N. Edwards and Tim Walker

CLOSE UP FOUNDATION

Close Up Publishing

Close Up Foundation

The Close Up Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan civic education organization that encourages responsible participation in the democratic process through educational programs and publications in government and citizenship. Since its founding in 1970, Close Up has been committed to developing new and better ways for young people, teachers, and a widening circle of citizens of all ages to gain a practical understanding of how public policy affects their lives and how individual and collective efforts affect public policy. For more information about Close Up programs, call 800-CLOSE UP.

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TO THE TEACHER

All across the United States, people are talking about violent crime. In recent years, the issue of crime has become the number one domestic policy concern for the American public.

Any discussion of crime stirs up many controversial issues—capital punishment, poverty, and the rights of criminals. Probably the most hotly debated crime-related issue, however, is gun control. President Bill Clinton has placed restrictions on firearms at the top of his crime-fighting agenda. Today, most polls indicate that the majority of Americans favor some form of gun control.

However, many Americans believe that government regulation of guns will do nothing to reduce crime and, more importantly, is a violation of the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Do Americans have a constitutional right to own firearms? What does the Second Amendment really say? Will gun control reduce violent crime? Close Up has developed this videotape to examine the gun control issue as it relates to the Bill of Rights and crime in America.

ABOUT THE VIDEO

"To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment" is a two-part, twenty-five minute videotape that examines the constitutionality of gun control and its effect on the country and on the average citizen.

The video is divided into two parts. The first part examines the constitutional questions surrounding the gun control issue and the role firearms play in the nation's crime problems. Interviews with constitutional scholars Ronald Goldfarb and Robert Cottrol; Sarah Brady of Handgun Control, Inc.; and Mary Sue Faulkner of the National Rifle Association provide the forum for the debate.

The second part of the video tells the stories of two women whose lives have been affected by guns and crime. They are:

- Natisha Campbell, a teenager who lost a close friend to gun violence and believes that tragic deaths will not be stopped until strict gun control laws are enacted; and

- Amy Flemming, who lives in constant fear of her abusive former husband and protects her life and her son's life with a handgun. She believes that the right to bear arms gives her the right to defend herself.

ABOUT THE TEACHER'S GUIDE

This guide is designed to help your students understand the gun control controversy as it relates to the Bill of Rights. The guide consists of four activities, each of which can be used at different points in the lesson. The first activity should be conducted before students view "To Keep and Bear Arms" to provide them with an understanding of the Second Amendment and its history. Activity 2 will help students develop their own opinions regarding the issue and understand how different perspectives add controversy to an issue. Postviewing Activities 3 and 4 will

further your students' understanding of the gun control issue by having them explore other people's points of view in their community. The activities are as follows:

Activity 1: History of the Second Amendment

Activity 2: Viewing the Video

Activity 3: Understanding Arguments

Activity 4: Wrapping Up

These activities employ student handouts, which you can copy. The guide also provides you with additional suggestions for activities to enrich the lesson and help make this a successful and rewarding learning experience. You can use the teaching strategies and activities in the guide in a variety of ways. Feel free to develop or adapt the activities to suit your teaching style, the needs of your students, and the amount of time you have to cover each topic.

GOALS

This videotape and teacher's guide should help students to:

1. understand the history of the Second Amendment.
2. examine how guns and gun control laws affect people's lives.
3. compare and contrast the many perspectives and viewpoints Americans have on the Bill of Rights, gun control, and crime in the United States.
4. develop informed opinions about the issue and discuss the future of gun control.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The activities are designed to provide a variety of educational experiences for your students. Rather than following a traditional lecture format, the activities involve class discussions or small-group work. This active learning approach encourages students to go beyond mere recognition or knowledge of the facts to begin analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating the issues and concepts under study.

TIPS ON LEADING EFFECTIVE CLASS DISCUSSIONS

All of the activities in this guide involve some class discussion. Following these procedures will increase the effectiveness of your discussions.

- Structure class discussions to involve the entire class; avoid creating a dialogue between the teacher and a few students. Make a special point of encouraging students to speak directly to one another rather than to you.

- Sequence your questions so that more students can participate. Use Bloom's Taxonomy to help you develop your questions. Sequencing is important because it develops a concept or idea from rudimentary to more sophisticated.

- Incorporate "wait time" into your discussion periods. You should wait for all students to respond to a question; if students cannot respond successfully, rephrase the question and try again.

ACTIVITY 1

HISTORY OF THE SECOND AMENDMENT

OBJECTIVES

After completing this activity, students will be able to:

1. discuss the history of the Second Amendment.
2. identify both sides of the right to keep and bear arms issue.
3. explain the relationship between gun control and the Bill of Rights.

PROCEDURES

1. Introduce the lesson on the right to own firearms and the video "To Keep and Bear Arms" by writing the Second Amendment on the board:

> *A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.*

Have students brainstorm the Second Amendment. Write their responses on the board. What do they think the amendment means literally? Now ask them what it means to them personally. Next, ask students if they or anyone in their family owns a gun. Ask why they or this family member owns this gun. Write the reasons on the board. Reasons may include hunting, protection, collecting, target shooting, and so forth. Point out that many citizens and lawmakers suggest that the Second Amendment be updated to include a ban on any type of gun used for purposes other than for hunting game or for military or police control. Ask students why people might call for such a ban on firearms.

Tell class members that they are about to begin a lesson on the Second Amendment, its significance as a constitutional right, and its controversial nature. Explain that the right to keep and bear arms can bring out strong emotions in people and the students should remember the need to respect the opinions of others. It is difficult to reach a consensus among Americans about how the Second Amendment should be interpreted; the same may be true for your classroom.

2. Next, distribute **Student Handout 1—History of the Second Amendment.** Have the students read the handout. After the class has finished reading, ask them to work with a partner for ten to fifteen minutes to answer the questions at the end of the handout. Then, lead a class discussion on their responses.

3. Conclude by telling students that they are going to watch a video about gun control and the right to keep and bear arms. They should keep in mind the information they learned in this activity as they watch the video.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

1. Several local and national associations and lobbying groups have published pamphlets and posters about gun control and the Second Amendment. Have interested students gather such information and share it with the class. Write the following addresses on the board to help them obtain information:

National Rifle Association
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030

Handgun Control, Inc.
1225 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

After the students gather information, lead a discussion about the way the material was presented by each organization. How did the groups highlight information that represents their side? For example, the National Rifle Association may present statistics that show that most licensed gun owners are law-abiding citizens, while Handgun Control, Inc., may point out that the United States has the highest number of handgun deaths in the world. Discuss why these groups present information that supports their beliefs.

2. Have students clip recent newspaper or magazine articles about gun control and ask them to write one- to two-paragraph summaries about each article. After the students have written their summaries, pin the articles to a bulletin board. Briefly discuss the articles as they are posted. Are there more pro-gun control or more anti-gun control articles?

3. Ask interested students to research and report on the federal gun laws that already exist. Such laws include the National Firearms Act of 1934, the Gun Control Act of 1968, and the Handgun Control Act of 1993 or Brady bill. They can probably gather much of the necessary information by writing the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, 650 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20226. Other students may want to find out more about existing state and local laws regulating firearms or ammunition. After they have gathered information, ask students to report their findings to the whole class.

ACTIVITY 2

VIEWING THE VIDEO

OBJECTIVES

After completing this activity, students will be able to:

1. recognize differing perceptions and points of view.
2. discuss different sides of an issue.
3. understand that the Second Amendment evokes strong emotions from people on both sides of the gun control issue.

PROCEDURES

1. Before showing the video, distribute **Student Handout 2—Gun Control: Necessary or Unconstitutional?** Mention to your students that the quotes on this handout have been taken from the videotape and are representative of the different views expressed. Ask them to listen for the quotes while they are watching. Allow students five to ten minutes to complete the handout. After they have finished, review their responses in a class discussion. Encourage students who have opposing opinions to explain their positions. After discussing each quote, average the ratings for each item to get an idea of where the class stands. Write the averages on the board.

Note to teacher: During the course of the lesson you may want to tell your class the names of the speakers of the quotes on the handout. They are as follows: Sarah Brady—4, 6, 8; Senator Dan Coats (R-Ind.)—5; Robert Cottrol—10; Mary Sue Faulkner—1, 3, 7, 11; Amy Flemming—12; Ronald Goldfarb—2, 9.

2. Next, distribute **Student Handout 3—Varying Viewpoints.** Make sure students are clear about what they are supposed to do with the handout. Before starting the video, ask class members to pay careful attention and to jot down the viewpoints of the six speakers listed on the handout. Tell them that after they view the video, the class will discuss their impressions of the video and the varying positions each speaker took on the issue of gun control. You might want to stop the video as each of the speakers first appears, so students know who is who.

3. As the students view the video "To Keep and Bear Arms," ask them to complete **Student Handout 3.** Remind them to pay careful attention to the video and to only write down pertinent information. Their notes need not be neat and detailed—the information is only going to be used in a class discussion. After viewing the video, discuss the items on the handout. Make sure students know the viewpoints of the six people listed on the handout and their motivation for saying what they do. You might want to spend a few minutes discussing Sarah Brady and the events that caused her to become active in the gun control movement.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

1. One way of teaching students to appreciate the freedoms and rights provided by the Constitution is to have them research and compare gun control laws in other countries with laws in the United States. Assign various countries to interested students and have them report back to the class. It might be interesting for them to report on gun ownership rights and laws in nations such as Australia, Canada, Cuba, Great Britain, Iran, Japan, South Africa, and Switzerland.

2. The Brady bill, a gun control law, was passed by Congress in December 1993. Have the students research the history of the Brady bill, discussing its name and background, its hurdles to passage during five years of debate, and its implications for the future. Students should find out more about the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan in which the bill's namesake, James Brady, was injured.

3. After students have seen and discussed the video, divide them into pairs and set up a role-playing activity in which one student will play Natisha Campbell and the other Amy Flemming. They should spend a few minutes preparing the remarks their character would make in response to the following statement:

> *Handguns serve no useful purpose and should be taken away from all Americans.*

As pairs discuss the statement, allow the Natisha Campbell character to speak first for two minutes, followed by the Amy Flemming character. Then give each person one minute to respond to what the other has said. After role-plays have been completed, ask the class to vote by a show of hands on which argument was strongest.

ACTIVITY 3

UNDERSTANDING ARGUMENTS

OBJECTIVES:

After completing this activity, students will be able to:

1. recognize differing perceptions and points of view.
2. compare and contrast views on gun control and the Second Amendment.
3. express their own opinions about gun control and the Second Amendment.

PROCEDURES

1. Distribute copies of **Student Handout 4—Two Views on Gun Control.** The two opinion pieces are from the editorial page of *USA Today*. This newspaper's editorial board gives an opinion on a controversial topic daily, and asks those with opposing viewpoints to respond. Give students adequate time to read the handout in or out of class. Or, you may want students to take turns reading aloud.

After students have finished reading, lead a discussion about the two opinion pieces. Which article do students think has the stronger arguments? Why? What are some of each article's main points? Who is Alan Gottlieb? Why do you suppose his opinion is different from the opinion of *USA Today*?

2. After the class has discussed the editorials on **Student Handout 4,** ask each student to write a letter to the editor responding to one of the two opinions. In their letters, they should explain their own position on Second Amendment rights and gun control. Urge them to read actual letters to the editor that appear in local newspapers to help them complete the assignment. Have students read their letters in class; follow with a discussion about the points they make or fail to make. Encourage them to give their letters to the school newspaper or perhaps a local newspaper for possible publication.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

1. The right to keep and bear arms is controversial. A valuable learning experience for your class would be to hear firsthand arguments from experts on both sides of an issue. Invite guest speakers to "face off" on the issue of gun control and its relationship to the Second Amendment. Choose representatives who you think might be of interest to your class. Call or write to arrange the participation of the speakers. Make sure you choose speakers with opposing views on gun control.

After speakers have been scheduled, tell students to submit questions and comments to you. If possible, share these with the guests a week or so before the scheduled presentations. Using these questions, guests should focus the discussion on a few specific issues and should allow time for follow-up questions from the floor. Have the class select three or four students to organize all questions and serve as spokespersons. All students should prepare by reading and researching specific issues relating to the Second Amendment and gun control.

On the day the speakers arrive, have several students greet them, one or two others introduce them to the class, and others write thank-you notes when the session has been completed. After the discussion, have students evaluate the speakers. How knowledgeable were they? What did students learn that they did not know before?

2. Have interested students research and report on all other rights—besides the right to keep and bear arms—protected in the Bill of Rights and Constitution. Close Up's book, *The Bill of Rights: A User's Guide*, would be very helpful to students as they prepare their reports. Are there other rights in the Bill of Rights or Constitution related to Second Amendment rights? Ask for volunteers to read their reports to the whole class.

3. Urge students to read op-ed pieces on any topic in magazines or in your local newspaper. Have them look for articles on the same page that espouse differing opinions. Common topics for editorial writers are abortion rights, the death penalty, school reform, school prayer, immigration, U.S. foreign policy, and so forth. Perhaps students could clip such columns and pin them to a bulletin board under appropriate headings.

ACTIVITY 4

WRAPPING UP

OBJECTIVES:

After completing this activity, students will be able to:

1. explain the relationship between gun control and the Second Amendment.
2. discuss why Second Amendment rights are important to many American men and women.
3. understand that members of your community often have different opinions and that the United States is made up of many different people with many viewpoints, opinions, and attitudes.

PROCEDURES

1. After you have shown the video and discussed the issue thoroughly, distribute new copies of **Student Handout 2—Gun Control: Necessary or Unconstitutional?** Give students a few minutes to respond to the quotes a second time. Then, discuss each quote briefly and average the scores on each item just as you did in Activity 2. Were there any changes from the first time? Which quotes reflect the most change? Which reflect the least? Were students' opinions affected by the video or the activities? What caused them to change?

2. Next, spend some time talking to your students about their impressions of the viewpoints expressed in the video. Some will side with Natisha Campbell and Sarah Brady and their opinion that gun control should be strengthened. Others will agree with Mary Sue Faulkner and Amy Flemming, who believe that American men and women should have the right to possess firearms. Still others may accept a combination of arguments from each side of the issue.

3. After discussing the video, the main characters, and the contrasting views, distribute copies of **Student Handout 5—Community Poll.** Students should poll five people in their community. Give them adequate time to conduct the poll, but not so much time that the lesson fades from their minds. After the survey has been completed, tally all results and put them on the board for the whole class. Which questions show the widest range of opinion? Which are more lopsided? Do students think the class and community generally reflect the same attitudes about gun control?

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

1. In a one-page essay, have students address the question, "Should the federal government ban all firearms?" Ask for volunteers to read their essays aloud in class. You might want to extend this activity by having students on both sides of the issue debate the question in class. After each debate has been completed, ask the class to indicate with a show of hands which debater "won."

2. Have students write a one- or two-page essay discussing the responsibilities that go along with the right to keep and bear arms. Ask for volunteers to read their essays aloud in class.

3. Hunters may be overlooked in the gun control debate. Hunters own millions of shotguns and rifles and represent a big voice in the issue. Ask a speaker from an outdoor hunting and fishing organization to talk to the class about gun control and the Second Amendment. Speakers may come from groups such as the Isaac Walton League, Ducks Unlimited, local outdoors clubs, and so forth. Another interesting speaker would be a local game conservation officer or someone from your state fish and wildlife department.

STUDENT HANDOUT 1

HISTORY OF THE SECOND AMENDMENT

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ENGLISH ROOTS

The right to bear arms was recognized by English courts before the invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066. In fact, English subjects were required to keep weapons to be part of the militia. Although militiamen were trained in the use of arms, they were everyday people—butchers, peasants, farmers, carpenters—not full-time professional soldiers.

But the right to bear arms in England was limited. Laws restricting the use and ownership of private arms dated to the fourteenth century. Guns could not be carried in public, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Parliament limited gun ownership to the wealthy. By 1671, the property ownership requirement for keeping guns was fifty times that for voting. Consequently, less than 1 percent of English subjects had the legal right to bear arms.

Some English kings used these restrictions on gun ownership to weaken the militia system, because the militia was under local control. Instead of relying on a militia, these kings preferred a standing army, professional troops hired by the crown and subject only to royal authority. Under Charles II, gunsmiths were required to keep strict records of the number of guns made and to whom they were sold, and people needed licenses to carry guns.

King James II, a Catholic, used the arms restrictions to persecute his Protestant subjects. After the Glorious Revolution, when James was driven from England in 1688, Parliament included a right for Protestants to bear arms in the English Bill of Rights, which William and Mary of Orange had to sign before taking the throne. But Parliament did not prohibit a standing army, although it required the king to have Parliament's consent when raising an army during peacetime.

THE CITIZEN-SOLDIER IN AMERICA

To many political theorists at the time of the American Revolution, the militia—composed of part-time citizen-soldiers, not full-time paid troops—represented the perfect alternative to the potential tyranny of a standing army.

In a militia, a citizen-soldier would represent the values of the community, and would be less likely to become an instrument of oppression than was a professional soldier whose sole identity lay in the use of arms at the king's command.

In the American colonies, the citizen-soldier idea and the militia system flourished. Bearing arms to defend the community was considered a duty of property-owning men. Colonial laws required that all free adult males possess arms and ammunition—or else be fined or disciplined by the community. Periodically, the militia was required to "muster," or assemble for training.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

British monarchs used the standing army to suppress liberties in America, just as in England. British troops kept the colonists in line when Americans rebelled against acts of the British government they saw as unjust. These actions of the British troops increased Americans' resolve against standing armies.

Nonetheless, to fight the prolonged war of independence against England, America had to rely on more than just the militia system. The famous "minutemen" of the New England militias—ready to fight "at a minute's warning in case of alarm"—also had to be disciplined enough to sustain years, not just minutes, of battle. They had to acquire the traits of professional soldiers, at least for the duration of the revolution.

After the war, however, the newly independent states were still wary of keeping a standing army. When the states wrote constitutions, several included a right to bear arms, tied to the importance of a "well regulated militia." Some states included in this right an exemption from militia service for conscientious objectors—pacifists who had religious or moral scruples about using weapons.

BEARING ARMS AND THE CONSTITUTION

When the new U.S. Constitution was written in 1787, it gave Congress the power in Article I to "raise and support armies" as well as "calling forth the militia." The Constitution forbade states, however, from keeping "troops, or ships of war in time of peace." Many opponents of the Constitution feared that these provisions endangered the state militia system—the only safe defense, they thought, against a standing army of the national government.

At the Virginia ratifying convention, George Mason warned that "the militia may be here destroyed by rendering them useless, by disarming them." Mason reminded the convention that England had many years before "disarm[ed] the people . . . by totally diffusing and neglecting the militia" and creating a standing army to take the militia's place. Five states, including Virginia, recommended that a right to bear arms be included in amendments to the Constitution.

In his proposed amendments submitted to Congress, James Madison included the right to bear arms, as well as an exemption for conscientious objectors. As reported by a committee of the House of Representatives, the original language of the Second Amendment read: "A well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, being the best security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," but "no person religiously scrupulous shall be compelled to bear arms." The Senate changed this wording somewhat and deleted the exemption for conscientious objectors. The precise meaning of those final words of the Second Amendment was to prove controversial for years to come.

COLLECTIVE RIGHTS VS. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Some constitutional scholars argue that the Second Amendment was designed only to protect the rights of states to have militias, not the right of individuals to bear arms for their own self-defense. These experts note that the right to bear arms is the only one in the Bill of Rights whose purpose is explained in the text itself. The right to bear arms, they maintain, is limited to the needs of a "well regulated militia" and the "security of a free state." Consequently, they argue, the Second Amendment guarantees the collective right of the militia to be armed for the

defense of the community—not an individual's right to carry weapons for whatever purpose, including hunting or self-defense.

Those who maintain that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to bear arms point to the historical definition of the militia as "the body of the people." Under this definition, the militia includes everyone in the community. Furthermore, these people point out, the Second Amendment does not specifically protect the rights of the *states*, as does the Tenth Amendment. Rather, the Second Amendment uses the phrase "right of the *people*," just as the First, Fourth, and Ninth Amendments do. These rights of the people—such as freedom of religion, speech, and press—are meant to protect individuals, not the states. The right to bear arms is no different, say these advocates of an individual rights approach.

THE SECOND AMENDMENT AND THE COURTS

In *Presser v. Illinois* (1886), the Supreme Court held that the Second Amendment applied only to acts of the national government. Unlike other provisions of the Bill of Rights, the Second Amendment has not since been applied to the states. The Supreme Court in *Presser* upheld an Illinois law that prohibited the "drill or parade with arms" of any group "other than the regular organized volunteer militia of this state."

The only modern Supreme Court case dealing with the Second Amendment is *United States v. Miller* (1939). In that case, the Court ruled that the National Firearms Act of 1934, which required registration of sawed-off shotguns, did not violate the Second Amendment. The Court declared that the amendment's "obvious purpose" was to "assure the continuation and render possible the effectiveness" of the militia and that the amendment "must be interpreted and applied with that end in view." Since a sawed-off shotgun had no "reasonable relationship" to a well-regulated militia, the Court concluded, the right to keep and bear such a weapon was not protected by the Second Amendment.

Commentators disagree about the meaning of the *Miller* decision, just as they disagree about the meaning of the Second Amendment. Advocates of gun control argue that *Miller* clearly ties the right to bear arms to the militia, refuting once and for all an individual right to bear arms for recreation or self-defense. Opponents of gun control state that *Miller* only held that a particular type of weapon, a sawed-off shotgun, was not related to the militia and therefore not protected. Although the debate about the meaning of *Miller* continues, no federal court has ever struck down gun control legislation as a violation of the Second Amendment. As recently as 1991, the Supreme Court refused to consider a challenge to a federal law prohibiting the sale or purchase of machine guns, thereby allowing the law to stand.

Similarly, when a U.S. Court of Appeals reaffirmed that the Second Amendment did not apply to the states in *Quilici v. Morton Grove* (1982), the Supreme Court let the decision stand without reviewing it. The village of Morton Grove, Illinois, was the first town in America to ban the possession of handguns in the home. Morton Grove's gun control ordinance required any person who owned a handgun to turn it into the police department—with certain exceptions for police officers, members of the armed forces, security guards, and others. Guns for recreational shooting had to be stored at gun clubs. Morton Grove's law was upheld because the Second Amendment only applied to the national government, not states and local communities.

THE FUTURE OF GUN CONTROL

The debate over gun control continues in the courts and in the legislatures. Opponents of gun control, led by the National Rifle Association, argue that if Second Amendment rights are threatened, no other constitutional rights are safe either. They point out that in the case of free speech, society is willing to accept that some degree of harm comes to others through hurtful speech without prohibiting the right to free speech. Similarly, just because criminals use guns does not mean that law-abiding citizens should be denied their constitutional right to bear arms.

Advocates of gun control counter by saying that—even if the Second Amendment does grant an individual right, not a collective right to a militia—no right is absolute. Therefore, the Second Amendment is not a total ban on gun control. Like any other right in the Constitution, the right to bear arms must be weighed against the potential harm it can cause society. In the case of guns, that harm can be deadly.

These arguments are used to persuade legislators to vote for or against gun control measures. But until the Court updates the *Miller* ruling, federal gun control laws will probably withstand legal challenge. James Madison wrote in *Federalist* 46 about "the advantage of being armed, which the Americans possess over the people of almost every other nation." Whether Madison was talking about an individual right or a collective right is the real question.

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After you have finished reading the selection above, answer the following questions on a separate sheet of paper.

1. In England and colonial America, what was the relationship between the right to bear arms and the crown maintaining a standing army? Why did many Americans want a provision in the U.S. Constitution giving people the right to bear arms?

2. What is the difference between collective rights and individual rights?

3. What is significant about the fact that the Second Amendment has not been applied to the states?

4. How do opponents and proponents of gun control differ in their interpretation of the Supreme Court's decision in *United States v. Miller* (1939)?

5. What was unique about the village of Morton Grove, Illinois, as discussed in *Quilici v. Morton Grove* (1982)? Why was the ruling significant?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 2

GUN CONTROL: NECESSARY OR UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

Read each quote carefully and check the number that comes closest to your degree of agreement.

	Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Mildly agree 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5
1. You are not going to stop the criminal by taking these firearms away from law-abiding citizens.					
2. There is no natural right to have a gun.					
3. A gun ban is unconstitutional—plain and simple.					
4. If guns make us feel safer, then we must certainly be the safest nation on earth. But there are 211 million of them [guns] out there. And instead, we are a country practically at war with itself.					
5. The real cause of crime is the moral breakdown of society.					
6. Military-style assault weapons have no other purpose than to kill and to kill quickly.					
7. Criminals fear armed citizens more than they do the police, because they know the police can't be everywhere all the time.					
8. Guns in the home are dangerous. They are a ticking time bomb.					
9. Consistently, the Supreme Court has ruled that there is no individual right to bear arms. The Court has chosen not to revisit that question because they believe it is an answered question, and it has been answered properly and correctly.					
10. The courts can be wrong. It's very dangerous for people to say "let's essentially ignore a portion of the Bill of Rights because it doesn't serve today's purpose." What constitutional right will survive the passions of the day?					
11. The crumbling of one [constitutional] right will affect all the rest.					
12. [By owning a gun] I am not taking justice into my own hands. What I'm doing is protecting my life, and that goes beyond any Second Amendment.					

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STUDENT HANDOUT 3

VARYING VIEWPOINTS

Directions: As you watch the video, write down the necessary information in the space provided.

Speaker	Main arguments for/against gun control	Your impressions of each speaker and opinion
Natisha Campbell		
Amy Flemming		
Sarah Brady		
Mary Sue Faulkner		
Ronald Goldfarb		
Robert Cottrol		

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STUDENT HANDOUT 4

TWO VIEWS ON GUN CONTROL

The following editorials were printed in *USA Today*. The first, written by the *USA Today* editorial staff, appeared on March 30, 1994. The second, written by Alan M. Gottlieb, chairman of Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, appeared on February 16, 1994.

STUDENT SLAYING: ONE MORE REASON TO CONTROL GUNS

Japan is awash this week with horror stories about the United States, and it's no wonder. Visitors here keep getting shot dead. Most recently, two Japanese students were gunned down during a carjacking in California last weekend.

Everybody knows how it happened. Some thugs wanted the car and, in a nation where handguns can be cheaper than sneakers, and as easy to get, they had the firepower to take it.

That says something about the USA that's horrible to hear: By rejecting rational gun controls, this nation tacitly accepts ever-escalating murder rates.

Gun control saves lives, and Japan, ironically, proves it. In that country, where gun controls are strict, there were 60 handgun-related murders in 1992. In the United States, where gun controls are almost non-existent, there were 13,220. . . .

Of course, we don't need international comparisons to remember that every day, we tolerate a truly poisonous kill rate. Handgun murders happen hourly. Multiple murder is a daily occurrence. Fatal carjackings seem no less common.

But we don't control firearms even as closely as cars. We don't demand that they be registered or insured. We don't demand that their owners be tested and licensed. . . .

. . . A recent *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup poll found that three of four support licensing gun owners as we do motorists. Even more favor new federal laws to let law enforcement agencies track gun sales. . . .

These ideas make profound good sense, and not just for our benefit. . . .

The grim truth: We have so much gun-related violence in this country that we have begun to export it.

Firearms flow to Mexico, undercutting local control efforts. And sadness flows to Japan, buttressing the notion that a visit here is a visit to a country of rampant, mindless violence.

Indeed, the caskets going to Japan represent a grisly international surplus: We take in more live visitors than we send back. Our own terrible losses aside, that should make you shout out with shame and despair.

GUN LAWS ARE NO ANSWER

Every time another gun control law is passed, violent crime goes up, not down, and the gun-ban crowd starts to yelp for more anti-gun laws.

So it's no surprise that the gun-banners are already snapping at the heels of our Bill of Rights.

They turn a blind eye to the fact that California, with a 15-day waiting period, experienced a 19 percent increase in violent crime and a 20 percent increase in homicide between 1987 and 1991. And that a 1989 ban on "assault weapons" in that state has also resulted in increased violent crime.

In Illinois, after a 30-day waiting period was installed, that state experienced a 31 percent increase in violent crime and a 36 percent increase in the homicide rate.

And, a handgun ban in Washington, D.C., has made it the murder capital of the world!

The results are in. Gun control makes the street safe for violent criminals. It disarms their victims—you and me. The people's right to protect themselves should be restored, not restricted.

Case in point: Bonnie Elmasri of Wisconsin, who was being stalked by her estranged husband despite a court restraining order, was killed along with her two children while she waited for the handgun she purchased under that state's gun-waiting-period law.

Bonnie and her children are dead because of gun control laws, as are thousands of other victims each year.

Anybody who believes that disarming the law-abiding populace will help reduce crime has rocks in the head.

The next time a violent criminal attacks you, you can roll up your copy of *USA Today* and defend yourself with it. It may be all you'll have left for self-protection.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 5

COMMUNITY POLL

Ask five members of your community to respond to the following questions. Mark each response in the appropriate column. The results of your poll and those done by your classmates will be tallied in class to help show community attitudes and opinions about guns and gun control.

	YES	NO
1. Do you own a gun?		
2. Have you ever bought a gun for protection?		
3. Have you ever been threatened with a gun or been the victim of a violent crime?		
4. Have you ever used a gun to defend yourself or a family member?		
5. Do you think guns are a good self-defense?		
6. Do you favor a ban on assault weapons?		
7. Do you favor a ban on handguns?		
8. Do you favor a ban on all guns?		
9. Do you think that stricter gun laws would reduce violent crime?		
10. Do you think stricter gun laws violate the Second Amendment to the Constitution?		

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"To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment" is just one example of the materials Close Up is known for in classrooms across the country. Check out the more than 30 other books and videotapes that social studies educators rely on year after year for thought-provoking, unbiased coverage of the most pressing issues concerning American citizens today.

Try these titles also from Close Up Publishing:

The Bill of Rights: A User's Guide

Winner of an American Bar Association Gavel Award, *The Bill of Rights: A User's Guide* is designed to help students regard the Bill of Rights as a dynamic piece of history that is still relevant to them today. This valuable resource describes the history of each right, examines the document amendment by amendment, explains how the Supreme Court has interpreted constitutional rights in past and more recent cases, and illustrates the role of citizens in enforcing those rights.

1991. $12.95. Teacher's guide, $9.95

"For Which it Stands: Flag Burning and the First Amendment"

This video documentary focuses on the Texas flag-burning case that reached the Supreme Court in 1989 and the emotional, political, and legal aspects of this First Amendment issue. Interviews with the defendant in the Texas case and with a former Vietnam POW provide a personal look at the opposing sides of this emotional issue. Members of Congress and other experts give constitutional commentary, while file footage of Jimi Hendrix, Madonna, and Roseanne Arnold performing their controversial expressions of free speech using national symbols are included to fuel the debate. This 24-minute video, which includes a FREE teacher's guide full of student activities, won a 1993 *Media & Methods* Outstanding Video Award.

1992. VHS. $39.95

Current Issues: Critical Issues Confronting the Nation and the World

Close Up's best-seller, *Current Issues* has provided nonpartisan, balanced coverage of the top issues on the American agenda since 1975. Updated each year, *Current Issues* covers ten domestic and ten foreign policy issues and gives updated information on the current administration, members of Congress, and the federal budget. The outlook and debate sections at the end of each chapter give students the chance to sharpen their critical-thinking and analytical skills. The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* provides lesson plans, student handouts and other activities in an easy-to-reproduce format—enough activities for up to 21 weeks!

Updated annually. $12.95. Teacher's guide, $14.95

Perspectives: Readings on Contemporary American Government

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1992. $15.95. Teacher's guide, $12.95

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